THE WOMAN'S
DREADNOUGHT

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THE FRANCHISE BILL

On June 19th Mr. Whitley, the Chairman of Committee, ruled out of order Mr. Arnold Ward's amendment to submit the question of votes for women, first to a referendum of the women, and, if carried by them, to a referendum of the men. Mr. Ward urged that if it were in order to put into the Home Rule Bill provisions enabling Ulster to exclude herself by referendum vote, it was equally in order to put in the Franchise Bill provisions to enable women to exclude themselves by referendum. Mr. Whitley said that both he and the Speaker were agreed that except in the matter of a local referendum this new principle could not be brought into the Constitution by way of an amendment to a Bill. The Speaker's ruling is, of course, in fact, whatever it may be in theory, largely dependent on the Government's desires.

Sir F. Banbury, in opposing votes for women, protested that if they became voters they might become Chaiman of committees, Speaker, or Cabinet Minister. He recalled Mr. Gladstone's words: "A capacity to sit in the House of Commons logically and practically draws in its train capacity to fill every office in the State." Mr. Swift McNeill said "Hear, hear," and Sir Frederick retorted that, like most women, Mr. McNeill was affected by gusts and waves of emotion. Sir Frederick, and all the other antis, also raised the absurd old objection that the 300,000,000 Orientals in the British Empire of 450,000,000 inhabitants would object to being governed by a Parliament partly elected by women. The would-be gallant supporters of votes for *some* women who fear to give votes to *all* women, replied by declaring that the Oriental had the greatest respect and admiration for Queen Victoria. Indeed, the debate was quite early Victorian, and the realities of present-day workaday life were seldom touched upon. The views of the Orientals in regard to Government are not mentioned except to prevent self-government for other people. Sir Frederick Banbury went on to say that Miss Rankin, the American woman M.P., had become hysterical when the question of Peace and War had to be decided and could not give her vote. The official of the House had therefore recorded it in the negative. Miss Rankin, he said, was doing what American women desired, for they had "already decided that they did not wish their sons or relations to run the risk of being killed." The women of Australia had prevented Conscription there, and since it was now clear that human nature was the same as a thousand years ago, and that we should probably be at war again "before many years are over," it would not do to put power into the hands of women who are naturally averse to war. If Sir Frederick Banbury could not perceive the fact that if women are against war that is the very reason that they should have power to prevent war. Lord Hugh Cecil replied that Miss Rankin was an "amiable, but singularly foolish lady," but that she was not representative of women in this country. Oh, no, no, he protested. "It is quite clear there is no pacifist feeling among women in England." This fact he sought to prove by saying that enormous numbers of women are making munitions. "Because they are well paid!" a Member interjected. We must sadly admit that that is largely true. Oh, what a hideous economic tangle the capitalist system has led us into!

THE SPIRIT OF NATIONALITY.

Mr. Burdett Coutts, another anti, said:

"The spirit of nationality has received a tremendous impetus from this War. During the last three years it has become infinitely stronger than it ever was before. It will remain a fixed and potent force in the affairs of the world, and it is bound to be guarded by each nation against all sources of weakness, whether they spring from sentiment or temperament, or other qualities which in other respects might well exercise an ameliorating and ennobling influence over mankind. What will be the sentiment or temperament—the mind—of women if we have to face another great war? You cannot get your answer to that question from the brave and splendid spirit they have shown with regard to it, because women had nothing to do with making the War. When the War was made man was the sovereign power. Do you not think the awful experiences through which the nation has passed, which have been more terrible to women than to men, and will be more lasting in women's memories, and will be handed on to their children of to-day, the women of to-morrow, will make a difference to the attitude of mind with which women will approach the question of another war?" Mr. Burdett-Coutts believes that the women of to-morrow will vote against war. Devoutly we hope so, and this, if true, is one of the greatest reasons why women should be enfranchised. But we hope that the men-children as well as the women-children of to-day will grow up with a rooted determination against all war, and indeed we cannot wait patiently for the men and women of to-morrow: we want to see this spirit in the men and women of to-day."

Sir Frederick Banbury said that it was a consolation to be Member for the City of London, because there are very few women there. He

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Of Special Interest This Week!

RUSSIA STILL WAITING!

C.O. COURTMARTIALLED IN FRANCE

NATIONAL BABY WEEK.

FROM A SOLDIER'S WIFE

Dear Editor,—I am just writing to let you know how we have to manage with our allowance. I have four children, and have to earn 2s. or 3s. extra to be able to live. The cheapest meat is 1s. 2d. or 1s. 3d. per lb., and we can hardly look at that. Here are my accounts:—

Army pay, 34s. 6d.; 6s. rent, 6s. bread, 3s. insurance, 2s. coals, 2s. margarine, 1s. 6d. jam, 3s. to keep them in boots, 1s. 4d. tea, 6d. coffee, 2s. milk, 1s. light.

That leaves 6s. for me to get for myself and four children dinners for seven days, and sugar (that we scarcely see), soap, wood, soda, and other useful things. It is killing us women to know how to go on day after day.—I am, etc.,

M—. C——.

MOTTOES FOR BABY WEEK

Healthy children cannot be reared without plenty of wholesome food, good housing accommodation, fresh air, sunshine, and happiness for mothers and children.

Mothers and their children need not charity, but rights.

THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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RUSSIA AWAITS AN ANSWER

With a growing sense of revulsion against the destructive outrages of war, our minds turn irresistibly to plans of reconstruction. Even the Jingo capitalists of the Government find relaxation in the functions of baby week, and everyone who thinks about matters of Government and longs to transform life as we know it to-day, is building castles in the air.

The Russian people have shown the democracies of the world how to take action and now, all eagerly, they wait for us to follow. They have sent out call after call to the peoples of the belligerent countries, saying that all the Governments of to-day are fighting for sordid capitalist aims, and calling on each people to overthrow the capitalist Government in its midst, to aid in concluding a peoples' peace and in establishing Socialism all over the world.

But the call has met with no tangible response. The Russian Revolutionaries are still left to battle alone with the profound problems which confront them. Can a Russian Socialist Republic be established and maintained in safety in the midst of a capitalist Europe and with a great war raging? This is the question the Socialists are asking themselves with anxious hearts.

To-day the Socialists are the most powerful force in Russia: they may seize the reins of Government, if they will, for the people trust those who have faced Siberia for the sake of freedom, and the peasants, who form 75 per cent. of the population of Russia, believe that it is the Socialists who will give them land. To-day the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' delegates, on which the Socialists are all-powerful, may become the Government of Russia if it wills. The Maximalist and Leninite Socialists desire this, but the more cautious elements on the Council are not as yet prepared to take this step. They say that Russia cannot stand alone as a Socialist State, that she cannot dissociate herself from the commerce and diplomacy of the rest of Europe, and that a Socialist Government cannot take part in c pitalist trading and diplomacy. They say that until it is possible to establish a Socialist Europe it is better to have, not a Russian Socialist Government, but a strong Socialist block in the Parliament able to force the Liberals to do its will. They fear that if the bourgeois parties are given no part in the Government they will join the counter-revolutionary parties. The Maximalists and Leninites, on the other hand, desire to cut adrift from the capitalist parties altogether, and to establish a Socialist system of organisation and industry in Russia, before Russian capitalism, which is as yet in its infancy, gains power and becomes more difficult than at present to overthrow. We deeply sympathise with this view.

The same cleavage in Russian Socialist thought is to be found concerning the War. All realise that the capitalist Governments on both sides are equally selfish and sinister in their War aims; Kerensky refuses to allow Russian troops to embark in Greece because Russia is of opinion that the invasion of Greece is as iniquitous as that of Belgium. But the cautious element has hope that the democracies of France and Britain will eventually come to the aid of Russia in establishing a just peace if Russia remains within the Allied coalition. They frankly say that the Austrian Government desires peace because Austria is exhausted by the War. They add that Germany would conclude peace immediately, on the basis of no annexations no indemnities, and the freeing of Poland by Russia, Austria, and Germany. Germany, they say, only awaits an invitation from Russia to offer terms of peace which are in accordance with the declaration of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council. But the more cautious Russian Socialists do not desire a separate peace: they fear that if they make peace with Germany the Allies will make war upon them, and that Japan especially will invade Russia. Therefore they refuse to make a separate peace, even on righteous terms, and wait in hope for the democracies of the Allies to force all their Governments to abandon imperialistic War aims. "Peace must be made in London," they say. "It is the British who keep the War going."

The Maximalists and Leninites answer that peace must be made on the terms laid down by the declarations of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council with any nation which is willing to accept it; that Russia has no mission in a capitalist war; and that the capitalist Governments of France and Britain are as dangerous to popular liberty as the autocratic Government of Germany.

Approval of Maximalist and Leninite ideas is steadily growing amongst the Russian people, who are daily learning more of the state of affairs in this so-called free country. Returning refugees tell them from bitter personal experience that political freedom, such as we know in England, is freedom only in name. The release of John MacLean and the Sinn Fein prisoners, and the unfulfilled promise to allow the Socialist delegates to proceed to Petrograd is the British Government's answer to Russian criticism, but Russian criticism is eagerly alert and asks for more substantial pledges of good intention.

Russian Socialists are agreed that the German Government is only able to retain the adherence of the people by assuring them that the fatherland is in danger; they look eagerly for a German Revolution, and should that come, all Russian Socialists will unite in concluding peace with their German comrades. But the pressure of the Allied bombardment, of course, renders the Germans less likely to rebel. They are not confident that British and French soldiers would abstain from taking advantage of a German revolution. We wonder, also, if British soldiers would abstain?

In the meantime, the elections for the Russian Constituent Assembly are expected to take place in the autumn, and the Socialists confidently expect a great majority. The next step in Russian Social reorganisation will be full of tremendous import, not merely for Russia, but for the world, for Russia to-day is playing the part of explorer in Social organisation for the world. The peasants desire land: the Liberals would buy the land from its present owners, and sell or give each peasant his holding, which he in turn might have as his own, to retain, or to sell. The Socialists would retain the land as the property of the nation, allowing each peasant his holding, to be retained as long as he chooses to work it, to be handed back to the State for someone else to work when he ceases to cultivate it. Will the peasant grasp at the individual gift or realise the wider good which the Socialist plan entails? In the realm of industry the same problem in more complicated form must be confronted. Very terrible is the responsibility which will fall upon the inactive democracies of Europe should their capitalist Governments take steps to stifle, or even, by their menacing attitude, merely hinder the development of Free Russia.

THE HERALD SCHEME.

Overturn the menacing capitalist Governments, set up the Socialist Commonwealths of the people. But how? How, for instance, is it to be done in this country?

In last week's "Herald" a scheme of plans for the People's Party is outlined. We are glad to see the scheme: it is well that the democracy should be hammering out its programme, instead of merely voicing an inarticulate non-constructive discontent. It is well that we should critically examine and consider such schemes. The "Herald" scheme leads off boldly with a demand for:—

CONSCRIPTION OF WEALTH AND EQUALITY OF INCOME.

(a) Expropriation of private landowners and capitalists. No compensation beyond an ample provision against individual hardship.

(b) All men and women willing to work to be paid, even when their work happens to be not needed, just as soldiers are paid when they are not fighting. Equal payment for all to be the result at which re-organisation shall aim.

(c) Instead of the present capitalistic methods of production

Ownership by the State: Management by the Workers.

This is not complete Socialism as the Russians see it, but it is a long step thereto. We are disappointed by the next paragraph:—

This shall be applied immediately to the case of mines, railways, shipping, shipbuilding, and engineering, electric light and power, gas and water.

(d) The national properties in mines, railways, shipping, land so created to be leased to the Unions on conditions which will ensure every member at present money value a

Minimum Real Income of One Pound a Day.

Why choose out the workers in certain industries for a privileged place in the charter? It may be that freedom for all will not be secured at the same time, but surely we must strive with equal determination on behalf of all. There seems to us a certain danger in choosing out the workers in just this particular group of industries for favoured treatment, since to a large extent they occupy a particularly good strategic position for bringing pressure to bear on Governments, and this power will be needed in the general struggle. In these particular industries the power of organised labour is felt and feared alike by the capitalists and the Governments which represent them. These are the industries in which it is sought to use such men as Mr. Hodge to effect agreements between labour and capital, allowing labour a little more of what it earns, lest the capitalist game be lost altogether. We must be careful not to play into the hands of those who fear the passing of capitalism by helping to create an aristocracy of labour, with interests apart from those of the less fortunate workers. Especially we must be careful not to create an aristocracy of labour in the trades in which women are *not* employed and a sweated section in which women and some men are grievously exploited. It may be said that these industries are chosen because their proper organisation is of vital importance to the people as a whole, and that is true, but the production of food is even more important to working people than that of electric light; the abolition of commerce in housing, both to town and country workers, is the indispensable corollary to land nationalisation, and milk is as important to bottle-fed infants as water itself.

THE FOOD QUESTION.

It is suggested that until the whole of industry is organised under the scheme, the standard of life for workers not embraced in the scheme (including that of those engaged in the household and the upbringing of children) shall be secured as follows:—

(a) A high minimum wage guaranteed by the State through a levy upon the profits of unexpropriated capitalists.

(b) Continuation and increase of present war allowances to the women and children of soldiers' families.

(c) Increase of maternity benefits and maintenance of children during school age.

(d) Great increase of old age pensions, beginning at an earlier age than at present.

(e) Revision of war and other pensions periodically in accordance with the increased cost of living.

(f) Increase of soldiers' pay to Australian, Canadian, and New Zealand standards.

Such expedients are at best unpleasant stopgaps: we have seen too much of the naval and military allowances and pensions, National Insurance, and other such administration to want to live long in a world in which they form a part. We may have to put up with them for a time as a necessary evil, but we want to hasten on to a juster and more humane stage of evolution.

All these provisions, the £1 a day minimum which it is proposed to assure to the workers in certain industries, the unspecified "high minimum wage" for less fortunate workers, the pensions, maternity benefits, and so on, will be continually affected by the rates of house rent and the cost of food and other commodities. Sliding scales are suggested, but how difficult it is to force such scales to rise as rapidly as the prices!

Even in peace time the nationalisation of the food supply is one of the most vitally urgent matters. In peace, also, corners are made in the people's food, and food is destroyed to push up prices, whist the people starve. Dirty, stale, disease-infected food, tuberculous meat and milk is supplied to the people, in order to increase profits. Because private dealers lack the will or the capital to provide proper equipment, food is kept and sold under unhealthy conditions. The distribution of staple foods is absurdly organised, because private enterprise dictates that a dozen competing bakers' and milkmen's carts shall visit a street each morning, that competing butchers' and grocers' shops shall exist side by side, and that neighbouring farmers, both perhaps supplying dirty, tubercular milk, shall each send perhaps half their milk to East London, half to West London.

LORD RHONDDA'S SCHEME.

But the War has brought upon us a crisis in the food question which renders drastic treatment of this matter only less urgent that the stoppage of the War which has produced the crisis.

It is not wise to leave consideration of this problem till "after the War," in the meantime allowing the capitalists to deal with the crisis as they please. Lord Rhondda, the new Food Controller, has announced his intention to establish an inquiry into costs, and to fix maximum prices, based on actual cost, with the addition of profits at normal pre-War rates. If properly administered the system will be an improvement on the present chaotic method, especially if it is insisted that where pre-War profits were large the scale shall be reduced. But whilst private profit and individual competition continue, things will continue to go wrong and it will remain impossible to trace and to check the evasions which will undoubtedly arise.

(Continued on Page 790.)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

DOWN WITH THE HOUSE OF LORDS!

On June 21st Lord Curzon stated that the Government intended to introduce legislation to reform the House of Lords. Ministers had merely waited to see whether the Franchise Bill would pass before making that clear. The Government intended to set up a Conference like the Speaker's Franchise Conference to discuss the question. The House of Lords would be more strongly represented on this forthcoming Conference than it had been on the Franchise Conference. The formality of asking the opinion of Parliament on this question has been dispensed with. We are strongly opposed to the proposal to reform the House of Lords, which will be given a new lease of life thereby. We desire the House of Lords to be ended, not mended, and we view with concern the practice of relegating the decision of important constitutional questions to Conferences which sit in private and are arbitrarily chosen.

SAVED FROM THE WRECK.

We are glad to record that the amendment to disfranchise conscientious objectors was defeated by 141 votes to 71. This shows that the extreme Parliamentary jingoes are more noisy than numerous. We also welcome the abolition of the pauper disqualification for Parliamentary purposes in the case of persons not actually in Workhouses.

These things are another proof that a united front would secure Adult Suffrage!

BRAVO, HUNGARY!

In Hungary the new Esterhazy Ministry proposes to extend the franchise to limited classes of women, including those owning or managing independent businesses. The Hungarian Feminist Union is dissatisfied with this partial concession, and has decided to begin a propaganda for the grant of votes to all women without exception.

We congratulate our Hungarian comrades on having taken this broad stand, and recognise them as comrades indeed. We recall with pleasure our glimpse in 1914 of their vigorous propaganda.

* * * *

The "Daily Express" reports the arrest in New York of Jim Larkin, the Irish leader. His crime was denouncing conscription. At that rate, British prisons would be pretty crowded.

STOP IT!

Lord Northcliffe, in a letter to one of the American Red Cross Committees, writes: "Every cent you can collect will be needed. The war, in my personal opinion, gathered by much experience at the front, is but beginning."—Reuter.

We can stop the War if we are determined!

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

The New Zealand National Peace Council writes:

"In order to validate the proceedings of the Imperial Conference, the people of each country must have agreed to the Conference, and must have had a voice in the selection of their representatives. No delegates can represent New Zealand, for instance, unless sent by the direct vote of the people, and we emphatically protest against the assumption of authority for any policy emanating from this Conference. We further regard it as the veriest folly for this handful of practically self-appointed agents to originate and organise any far-reaching policy for the future governance of the British nations. We have only to recall the complete failure of the Hon. W. M. Hughes, in relation to the position in Australia in connection with the great Conscription issue, in order to be filled with alarm at any similar attempt on the part of our statesmen to pretend to represent us before ascertaining our views. We protest that there is more danger to our future well-being lurking in those things that may be done in a hurry now, by these unauthorised agents, than in a policy of quietly waiting for the natural readjustment of the ensuing time of peace. The people are not and have not been allowed to discuss the possible terms of peace. Mr. Massey is as competent as any other private citizen, and no more competent, to tell the Conference, as he has told the world, that the people of new Zealand would not agree to the handing back of the Samoan Islands at the end of the War. That question has not been discussed here, and such acquisition, though in itself trivial, would be most vicious in principle, and would heavily discount the earlier declaration of the British Government that this was not a war of territorial aggrandisement. On the contrary, public-spirited citizens of New Zealand, seeking enlightenment by publicly discussing Government policy, have been summarily sentenced to terms of imprisonment (in many cases for twelve months), and many are now held in gaol pending the long-delayed sitting of the Court of Appeal. Further than this, the abolition (under the War Regulations Act) of the right of accused persons to trial by jury for alleged seditious offences and the denial of bail pending trial or appeal, place all public men, who are political opponents of the Ministers of the State, in danger of like treatment should they utter their criticisms.

The postponement of the General Election for twelve months seriously handicapped the immediate popular expression of opinion by the vote of the people on any policy of Parliament. This act is a direct violation of good faith, and is only another step in the subjection of popular Government to imperialist domination. We protest against every attempt by 'Imperial' Conference, 'Imperial' Executive Cabinet, or otherwise, to belittle and undermine, in any measure, those rights and privileges of self-government so long pertaining to the people of this Dominion."

IRELAND.

Reports appear daily of disturbances in Ireland, and Unionist agitation is vigorously endavouring to force the Government to regret the amnesty. The truth really is that Irish people have been driven to exasperation during the last fourteen months by all the petty and cruel dealings of the representatives of England in Ireland. The bungling of the Cabinet, the retention of martial law, the ill-advised step of restoring the hated "Castle system" have all combined to bring about a state of nervous tension. Is it any wonder to those who understand the true circumstances and also the Irish character that the long-wished-for, though unexpected, release of the Sinn Fein prisoners should cause excitement? That many take advantage of such celebrations to vent their anger on gaols and other Government institutions by smashing windows, surely does not justify bayonet charges. By severe measures the Government will only turn impetuous unruliness into thought-out and planned action. Will the British Government never learn?—M. O'C.

RUSSIAN WOMEN FOR THE FRONT.

Russian women are said to be going to the front in a few days. It is reported that they are enlisting for "the "Battalions of Death." The name is well chosen.

C.O. COURT-MARTIALLED IN FRANCE

Court-Martial Defence of Ernest Victor Millwood at the village of Courcelles, France.

Gentlemen,—I am happy to-day to be charged before you in this manner. I should indeed have cause for being ashamed if I could in any wise plead innocence to your charge; and particularly so when I reflect how the wisest and the gentlest of the earth would have stood, and do now stand before you elsewhere, instinctively refusing you allegiance and owing you none.

Everywhere the military impulse has been felt, and its ultimate . . . and horrible function forgotten, by reason of the call upon common instincts of self-defence and the attraction towards the performance of deeds of valour and sacrifice. Those who have striven to be faithful in all things, having never preferred life as a state of amusement, know how to regard this summons. They know that whatever may be valuable in the principle of life is valuable in respect of itself, needing no protection and seeking none. They know, in brief, that life where it is life at all consists in the exercise of the affections and the cultivation of the understanding to the end that the Creator may delight in His creatures: no part of its high nature may be set aside for the purpose of committing violence. The moment a destructive force could be brought into operation on its behalf, at that moment would its value cease. This value I put upon life, and I shall not, in consequence of social disturbance, estimate it by any other. Truth is inflexible and cannot be made otherwise for the sake of this or that catastrophe. Very respectfully, gentlemen, I must tell you that I have come to care very little for this European War of yours. It is abhorrent in the light of the Gospel of Light and Mercy, and like all things so abhorrent, its truthlessness has become as apparent as its mercilessness. Presumably it is waged for the sake of the sanctity of our homes, the perpetuation of our traditions, and the safety of our lives. I ask pardon if I am led to suspect the first: I deny any character but the worst to the traditions of this world, as for our lives, these chiefly are in danger from ourselves. All these in their sincerity serve as their own protection. I am the more resolved in my purpose, gentlemen, when I am assured in my own mind that nothing will prevent the return to this stricken planet of that smile of primeval dawn when the sun first rose with promise after the Spirit of God had moved upon the face of the waters. With this assurance, then, you cannot well afflict me.

Your power is nervous, suspicious, convulsive, enduring but for a season; but the Power encouraging me to withstand you to-day is the same which, grain by grain, has set firm the foundation of the hills, clothed their summits in mystery, and with clouds, which in their quiet passing or tumultuous onset distil the gentle rain—type of the sun-strained quality of mercy—moistening the slopes into verdure that the feet of those who publish peace might walk thereon. Imprison me you may, or worse—the man was so dealt with who first declared the world to be round—but you cannot enslave my mind nor dim the brightness of my fancy, still less disturb my intercourse with the Supreme Intelligence. Indeed, what has been done towards me is already the worst that could have been done. I was a harmless and a peaceable citizen, the sole companion of my aged mother, the constant attendant at her bedside in times of sickness, her ready helper in a thousand ways wherein she is now rendered helpless. In accordance not only with the sentiment of the Service Act, but with one of the clauses of its provisions as the people understood them, I was entitled to be left undisturbed, or at least afforded the chance of performing some useful work consistent with my belief and my domestic and filial responsibilities. You have now parted us to no purpose. Is not war only a disease? One of the symptoms of the Great Plague in London was the desire of the victim to impart it to people who were free from it. Yes, gentlemen, it is a disease—a contagion borne upon the gentle gale of first impressions and fostered in the dense atmosphere of "Common Sense" which surrounds our earth, as it were, with a belt hiding the great and glorious blue vault of heaven surmounting and encircling all.

JUDGE HENRY NEIL
ON
THE MOTHERS' PENSION SYSTEM.

In America we have found that children reared in institutions, when they grow up and marry, and the pressure of supporting their children becomes strong, desert them. Because of these things it has been demonstrated that if the tax-payer has to hire some person to take care of the dependent child, it is better to hire that child's own mother than any other person. That is what we are trying to do through the Mothers' Pension System. We are trying to secure for every child, as near as possible, a home development rather than an institution development.

Just as it is unwise to try to raise chickens in large groups, say, ten thousand together, because of the chances of epidemics, it is also bad policy to rear children in large groups. We have found that home life is better even than little groups; that mother's love is a scientific necessity, and makes all the difference between virile and weakly children.

In 1898 most of the States adopted Juvenile Court laws, which provided that the Children's Courts could take the children away from their parents when they were not giving them "proper care," and this was often done in cases where poverty was the only excuse for such an action.

I went to Illinois in 1911, and the State Legislature took up my idea of Mothers' Pensions and passed a law to that effect without one dissenting vote.

The pensioned mother is put on the county pay roll, the same as the county judge and the janitor. She gets her cheque every month, and, if she proves unable to handle the money properly, her pension may be revoked. But we have very few cases of any abuse of the pension. Strictly speaking, this is an economic scheme. We pay poor mothers pensions to save the tax-payers' pockets. The authorities were empowered to take away children from mothers who could not find the money for rent and food, and place them together in large institutions. These institutions were very costly. In New York City three and a half millions of the ratepayers' money was expended in one year on the care of twenty-two thousand children. It occurred to me, when I discovered this state of things six years ago, that a saving might be effected by granting the poor mothers pensions and seeing they looked after the children themselves, and so it has proved. Practically three-quarters of such children are now looked after at home, and the cost is just about one-third what it was. Mothers must be destitute to be eligible for pensions. The cost runs about ten dollars per month each case instead of thirty. Inspectors see that the bargain is kept, and the mother makes a report on her expenditure. The scheme has had wonderful effects in the checking of juvenile crime. There are districts in which this was virtually stamped out after six months' trial of the pension system.

Next I go to France. I have received cordial invitations from certain members of the Government to lay my scheme before them.

QUAKERS AND CONSCRIPTION.

The Executive of the Society of Friends reaffirms its testimony as to the supremacy of conscience and its unalterable opposition to the Military Service Acts, and once again urges their repeal.

RUSSIA AWAITS AN ANSWER

(continued from page 788).

We are all consumers of food: we all know by actual experience the need for a better system of production and distribution. The workers in the food trades also need the emancipation which national ownership and management by the workers would bring. The farm labourers might, or might not, be completely emancipated from wage slavery by nationalisation of the land: the workers in the canneries, the biscuit factories, and the bakeries, and the assistants in the shops need their charter of freedom as urgently as the miners and engineers. The miners and engineers are growing daily more conscious of the need for control of industry by the workers in industry: the same consciousness must be developed in all other workers, and the consumers, the housewives who buy bread, milk, coal, and other commodities must join with them in demanding the end of the profiteering system.

All the workers need the charter of freedom from the capitalist system: the charter of freedom will never be properly administered in a piecemeal fashion. The Cabinet Ministers and City Councillors who to-day administer the Post Office, the trams and the gasworks, approach these things from the capitalist standpoint and administer the departments as though they were private business concerns. To secure real freedom for any worker, we must secure freedom for all.

POLITICAL RIGHTS.

The "Herald" scheme urges full political rights for all men and women, the abolition of the House of Lords, and the substitution of a Chamber representative of the industrial, professional, and domestic occupations. These schemes are good: we regret that THE DREADNOUGHT and THE CALL have been alone in voicing the demand that *the Franchise Bill, now passing through Parliament*, shall be amended so as to extend the vote to every adult man and woman, to abolish plural voting and the pauper disqualification, and to establish continuous registration. We call on others to join us in agitating against the proposed measure for reforming the House of Lords, for which the Government is about to set up another Conference. We fear that the House of Lords Bill is a part of the compromise by which the Franchise Bill has been passed, in which case it will presently appear that members of Parliament are already committed to it. We may be told that what Parliament does to-day is of no moment, for the Revolution will overturn it to-morrow, but when we find our Revolutionary friends supporting such compromises, we are constrained to remind them that whilst we are building our castles in the air, we should nevertheless keep our feet firmly planted on the earth. We cannot afford to allow new evils to grow up around us whilst thinking of the great things we will do in some far-off day. Under the political section of the "Herald" charter we further find these words: "The laws framed for providing for freedom of conscience to be made effective." We hope that does not imply any tolerance of Conscription provided the Conscience Clause be rendered effective.

THE WORKERS ORGANISED AGAINST WAR.

Under this heading it is suggested that peace shall be concluded on the basis of:—

"The right of the people to decide their own destiny. No indemnities, but each belligerent to restore the damage he has done, or to compound such reparation by concessions to be agreed to by negotiation."

We greatly regret that the noble demand of the Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Council should thus be departed from. This new suggestion would open up an unlimited field for international quarrelling, sharp practice, and greed. The War must not be prolonged a single day for the sake of money!

AFRICAN PEOPLES.

It is also suggested that:—

"The government of non-European races in Africa be regarded as an international trust, with no exclusive advantages to the sovereign State; such populations not to be trained for war or subject to conscription or servile labour."

Those words have a capitalist ring about them. They suggest that our propagandist is not confident that the present system will be swept away. We prefer the suggestion of Mr. H. G. Wells that there shall be an international alliance

"to protect uncivilised and politically confused countries from conquest and exploitation."

We assume this to mean that there shall be an international agreement to leave such countries alone to work out their own destiny, an agreement which would not preclude the exchange of commodities between such peoples and European nations, but would prevent the latter occupying the territory of the former, policing it, or in any way exercising authority over it. It is often said that the non-European races may desire help in development from the European Powers; in that case let them ask for it freely. If thought helpful, an international panel of expert advisers on various matters might be established from which nations might freely choose, but without any obligation to choose advisers only from the panel.

We agree that disarmament (and denavalisation) would prevent War, and that "if the nations are not loaded they will not explode"; but whilst competitive capitalism remains, we are never at peace, for the economic War never ceases between worker and capitalist, capitalist and capitalist, and between groups of capitalists carrying on the strife with the help of the Governments of their respective nations.

The Russian Revolution has taught us that, given the requisite courage and solidarity, a nation may step directly from one stage of evolution to another. Russia accomplished in a few weeks the political revolution, which in other countries was gradually effected by many generations of effort. Can Europe step directly from Capitalism to Socialism? Before the War, before the Russian Revolution, this might have seemed impossible in our age. But now anything seems possible. We must endeavour to answer worthily the Russian call, which bids us to be free.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

OUR GREAT PUSH

Nine of the 100 black and white Indicators required for advertising the DREADNOUGHT on railway bookstalls and outside newsvendors' shops have already been paid for by: Mr. Edgar Lansbury, 1; Mr. George Bernard Shaw, 2; Mrs. Crosland Taylor, 1; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 1; Poplar Branch (W.S.F.), by proceeds of sale of scent cards (will other branches note and copy?), 1; Mrs. C. E. Payne, 1; Mr. Leakey, 1; Mr. W. Carter, 1.

Each Indicator costs 30s. Ninety-one more are required. Who will pay for the next?

CENTRAL HALL MEETING

Space does not permit a full account of the Suffrage meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, June 20th, but the impression created by it can be summed up in one sentence from the speech of Mr. Pringle, M.P.: "It seems to me that all the enthusiasm in this Hall to-night is for anything but the object for which the meeting has been convened." Considering that the object of the conveners was to support a measure giving votes to women at the age of 30, the lack of enthusiasm would seem natural. Thundering applause greeted the "anti-War" and "Peace by negotiation" utterances of Miss Eva Gore Booth and Pte. Morrell, M.P., and Mr. Pringle's allusions to the cruel "Re-examination of Cripples" Bill. Lord Courtney and Mr. Aneurin Williams dealt principally with Proportional Representation. Sir John Simon's well-delivered speech left the audience cold. There were several interjections in favour of Adult Suffrage and Peace, and the resolution in favour of the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill, was carried with several dissentients.

POPLAR SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL

The above met on Sunday, June 24th, at 3 p.m. Our programme consisted of a Peace hymn, three songs from the Socialist Sunday School book (one of which was new), repetition of the commandments learnt, two stories to illustrate the second commandment, the children's own songs and recitations, and games, the fresh one being "Oranges and Lemons." The attendance was 20. We have arranged to hold a picnic in Victoria Park on Saturday, July 21st. The start is from 20 Railway Street at 2 p.m. We expect to arrive at Victoria Park (Bonner Hall Gate) at 3 p.m. A programme of games, sports for prizes, and folk-dances has been arranged. The tickets are 1s. each, including refreshments.—J.B.

AN EAST END STRIKE

Nine hundred of the workers employed by Schneider and Son, Bedford Street, are on strike. They demand a 15 per cent war bonus, the cancellation of all reductions, and the abolition of sub-contracting.

Cheerfulness is a characteristic of the strikers, who, although not receiving any strike pay because of D.O.R.A. and the Munitions Act, may be seen with happy faces patrolling the street outside their offices. They are determined to win, and there is no one but will wish them luck.

* * * *

The United Socialist Council of Islington passed the following resolution: "That the Council hears with satisfaction of the proposed formation of a branch of the W.S.F. in Islington, and hopes that the branch will become affiliated to the United Socialist Council of Islington."

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Workers, Male and Female, Organise in the One Big Union of All Workers!

Sectional Unions don't Unite; they Divide.

The I.W.W. organises **all** Workers in each shop.

One Class, One Struggle, One Union, One Enemy, and One Cause.

Call or write to Secretary, at I.W.W. Hall, 76 Whitechapel Road, E.1.

Contributions, 1s. per month. Nothing if Unemployed.

Join the **Fighting Union, the I.W.W.**

NORWAY

A correspondent from Christiania writes:—

"Since the outbreak of War Norway has been the victim of scandalous speculation in every article of daily necessity. With cool laxity and indifference the Government has stood by throughout the whole time and permitted, through its inactivity, this cruel exploitation of the people. Its attention to this unbearable state of affairs was often called by the Socialist members of the Storthing, but to no avail. The indignation of Labour had risen to such a pitch that they decided to take the matter into their own hands. With energy and rapidity they organised all the unions scattered throughout the country, appointed a special committee under whose hands would fall such serious arrangements as demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, &c. So effectively did they arrange their affairs that on Wednesday, June 6th, upon which date the first such demonstration was to take place, the whole of the country's industry was at a complete standstill. Even restaurants, cafés, shops were closed, while postal and railway services were restricted to insignificance. One of the most conspicuous demands of the day was the concession by the Government of 150 million kroners to alleviate the dearness of commodities, and a rigorous supervision of prices. That these demands were repulsive to the Press champions of exploitation goes without saying. They were, however, together with a number of other far-reaching demands, placed before the Ministry the same day by a strong deputation, and as an illustration of the efficacy of the organisation, two days later the Press contained the announcement that the Government had conceded 100 million kroners (there must be some bargaining always), whilst a Bill was going to be introduced authorising the Government to interfere and to use a free hand where it discovered illegal inflation of prices. That, at least, is some ground gained."

A MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE

Last week Bernard Cook, aged 32, a Canadian soldier whom the authorities discharged after nearly two years' service on account of shell shock, was sentenced at Maidstone Assizes on June 22nd to five years' penal servitude for an attack on a young lady in a train. The judge said that if there was any idea that the prisoner was not in his right mind the doctor would be able to tell. We do not admit the infallibility of the medical profession, which, especially in the subtle things of the mind, frequently makes mistakes; but apparently the military medical men have already decided that this man's mental balance is grievously impaired, and on that account have discharged him from the Army. It is not surprising that a man whose mental illness has been caused in warfare should be found committing violent crime. It is reported that the young lady whom Cook attacked was in possession of £50, and it is perhaps assumed that Cook intended to rob her. Enquiries should be made as to whether Cook was awarded a sufficient pension, and what care and treatment have been used to restore him to his normal state and why he was not taken back to Canada. The National League of Rights, 400 Old Ford Road, E., which acts for soldiers and sailors, both discharged and in the services, and for their wives and relatives, is continually dealing with cases in which men are discharged in a condition of grave mental or physical illness urgently needing medical care, and either without pensions or with inadequate pensions.

Judging from experience of other cases, it is to be feared that a grave miscarriage of justice has taken place in the case of Bernard Cook. An independent medical inquiry should be held into all the circumstances.

AUTOCRACY UP-TO-DATE

Representative government is becoming more and more a thing of the past in this country. General Smuts is appointed to the War Cabinet, though not a member of either House of Parliament. Why? When the King abolished the German titles held by members of his family and transformed them from German Princes into British Dukes, he made them eligible for seats in the House of Lords, and placed them amongst the company of people who govern us.

LEEDS FOOD CONTROL COMMITTEE

Leeds people are not content to put up with food control muddling. At a meeting on Thursday, June 21st, a committee was formed to organise some kind of check on the profiteers. Already the committee has set about the matter seriously, and is holding meetings all over Leeds. Mr. Walker, 63 Portland Crescent, has been appointed secretary, and Miss Stephen has been appointed organiser. The credit for the initiation of this campaign lies with the Leeds branch of the W.S.F. Other branches wishing advice and literature are requested to write to Mr. Walker.

A W.S.F. COUNCILLOR

Mrs. Moore, of Kensal Rise, one of our members, has been elected as a Borough Councillor. She is very popular, and has taken an active part in local Suffrage and anti-Conscription work.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

June 19th.—Two books, "Defeat" and "The Fiddlers," written to promote abstinence from alcohol in War-time are not allowed to be circulated in Canada because they would "have had a retarding influence upon recruiting." Do the authorities think, then, recruits for the Army are more easily procured if there is no fear of temperance being enforced?

* * * *

Mr. A. Richardson (L.) said that the Order to sell dried peas at 9d. per pound makes it difficult for the small shopkeeper, whose packets vary in weight. Also, as dried peas are now out of season owing to green ones on the market, the sale is thereby made impossible. Mr. Bridgeman said arrangements were being made to confer with the association concerned. We hope they won't fix prices above market value!

* * * *

In reply to Mr. Ginnell (Sinn Fein), Mr. Duke stated that the men deported from Ireland are now at liberty to return!

* * * *

June 20th.—Mr. Macpherson stated that in Chilsdon Camp during March, April, and May 59 recruits taken at 18 have died. This does not look as though they were medically fit for service!

FORCIBLE FEEDING.

In reply to Sir William Byles (L.), Mr. Macpherson acknowledged that Emmanuel Ribiero, a conscientious objector, is being fed by tube in the Lord Derby War Hospital. He has been there since January 25th, 1917, and has been treated under the same conditions since that date! A Government guilty of this inhumanity cannot afford to throw stones at any other.

* * * *

Mr. Ginnell (Sinn Fein) again pleaded for a Convention in Ireland elected on an adult suffrage basis.

* * * *

June 21st.—On behalf of the National Service Department, Mr. Walsh assured the House that there will be an adequate amount of labour available for the harvest. We are glad to know that there is no scarcity of labour!

PETER PETROFF.

Mr. King (L.) asked that Peter Petroff might either be allowed to return to Russia or stand for his trial. But the Government was not prepared to do anything so sensible. With his fellow-rebels at liberty in Russia, how strange that Petroff should fare worse in the country where he sought asylum.

* * * *

Mr. Bonar Law stated that he wished to postpone the increased rates of the Entertainments Tax until October 1st.

CALLING UP "THE HALT AND THE LAME."

When the Army Estimates were to have been discussed, Mr. Pringle (L.) moved to reduce the Vote by £100 in order to call attention to the scandals in connection with the medical re-examination of discharged and rejected men. He reminded the House that "exceptional care and exceptional kindness" were promised in dealing with these men. Instead of that being the case, examinations had been carried out "in a harsh, in a cruel, in an unfair, and in a wasteful way." Mr. Pringle went on to say that "the halt, the lame, the blind, the mute, the mad, aye, and even the dead," have been summoned for examination. Men of this description and cripples and hunchbacks, men with curvature of the spine were marshalled up as if they were a "company of convicts," "sworn and bullied" at by the recruiting officer, and kept at Kingston Barracks for eight hours without food or drink! He condemned the perfunctory nature of the examinations, and cited the case of one soldier discharged on account of tuberculosis who was in hospital within a fortnight after being called up, and those of two men suffering from "most virulent" venereal disease. Not only did Mr. Pringle protest against this line of action on account of its cruelty, but because it is a "wanton waste of national resources." Sir Godfrey Baring (L.), Mr. Hogge (L.), and many others took the same line of argument, and gave cases proving the validity of their condemnation of the working of the Review of Exceptions Act. Even Mr. Asquith (L.) added his voice to those of the fault-finders, urging that there was far more hardship and injustice caused by calling discharged men up than there could possibly be of gain to the State. Mr. Macpherson took the only line possible in defending a bad case. First he announced that a committee was to be appointed to enquire into the working of the Act, and further a concession that "every soldier who was disabled by wounds or discharged from sickness or ill-health abroad will be excepted under this Act." He complained that those who alleged that the medically unfit were called up forgot that Army work now can be performed by women! But he overlooked the fact that these men are usually put to do work which makes them and their families a burden to the State.

COUNCILLOR DOLLAN.

June 22nd.—Mr. Snowden (Lab.) asked for steps to be taken to return Councillor Dollan to his work as a member of the Glasgow Corporation. Mr. Munro said that he had no power to interfere with the enforcement of his military obligations!

CONSCRIPTION OF ALIENS.

The Bill which gives power to the British Government to compel aliens to serve in the British Army, and to foreign Powers to conscribe British subjects for their armies, was read a third time, and passed without discussion.

* * * *

June 25th.—Commander Wedgwood (L.) asked for an assurance from the Prime Minister that no reprisals would be undertaken without the consent of both Houses. We hope that consent will never be obtained.

RELEASE OF JOHN MACLEAN.

Mr. Munro announced his intention of "sanctioning" John Maclean's early release on license. At last!

In reply to Mr. Dillon (I.N.), Mr. Bonar Law acknowledged that it had been decided to summon a Conference to consider the future of the House of Lords. Why not decide on its abolition?

THE FRANCHISE BILL (Continued from front page)

mentioned a story from "Punch," in which one charwoman was supposed to ask another whether in future men would be allowed to vote; the answer had been: "Yes, my dear—at first."

Lord Hugh Cecil said: "A certain number of women to be enfranchised by this Bill are almost the only persons to be enfranchised by it who will care twopence for the gift," and asked the antis whether they had felt "the smallest mental wear and tear" as a result of voting. He himself had "survived it quite easily." He declared that both suffragists and antis took the whole matter too seriously when it was being discussed. One side got pink in the face, the other pale. Two very interesting and amusing romances might be written to illustrate the opposite points of view. One would be called: "Saved by the Vote: A Tale of Lawless Love," in which the licentiousness of the villain would be restrained by the heroine's reminder that there is to be a Parliamentary vacancy, and that she is a voter. Whether the villain intends to stand as a candidate Lord Hugh did not explain. The other romance would be entitled: "How Mother Voted: or the Ruined Home." It would be told by a child who would narrate the destruction by the franchise of the "happy and contented home"; the mother "would litter the simple parlour with editions of the evening paper, and drive her husband to the public-house by reading out extracts from the leading articles. . . . She would become more and more strange and excited . . . rush from meeting to meeting . . . secure from alcoholic stimulants the support necessary to bear the wear and tear upon her nervous system caused by the responsibility of having to give a vote, and become an inebriate for life." What a debating society the House of Commons is! Talk, talk, talk; and all their talking appears to be more important to Members of Parliament than other people's lives!

The Attorney-General (Sir F. E. Smith) made a cynical speech which illustrated the most sordid political opportunism. He said that he was still opposed to the enfranchisement of women, but had agreed to abandon his opposition in order to secure the Franchise Bill as a whole (together with House of Lords reform, we suspect). He reserved to himself the right to vote against women's suffrage later on unless Proportional Representation were reinstated, and explained that he had agreed to vote for women's enfranchisement because he had come to the conclusion that it would be carried whether he continued to oppose it or not. This is another argument for our own contention that the professed supporters of women's suffrage have the power to carry whatever measure of enfranchisement for women they choose to concentrate upon. Sir John Simon and his friends who have cooked the compromise were of course twitted with this. But, quite unperturbed, they continued arguing the need of women munition workers to a vote on the problems of reconstruction, though these are the women excluded from the compromise. Sir J. Compton-Rickett, a recent convert, spoke up more handsomely than many suffragists of long standing. He said that he saw no reason why women should not enter Parliament, the Government, the Diplomatic Service, and the Judiciary. He asked the House not to give the vote grudgingly, "but to hold out two hands to those who are coming in to help us so that we may bring them in as friends and comrades."

The words in the Bill which entitle women to be registered as voters were then carried by 385 votes to 55.

THE THIRTY YEARS BARRIER.

On June 20th Mr. Peto moved to leave out the words postponing the enfranchisement of women till they are thirty. Mr. Dickinson, one of the fathers of the compromise, opposed the amendment, saying that he wanted Adult Suffrage, but some Members did not, and that "it would be a sudden upheaval and change, and no one wants to bring about a vast upheaval in our electoral system." Moreover, "the great proportion of women have not yet, by their education or by their experience in life, attained that insight into political affairs which would justify Parliament, perhaps, in putting them at once into possession of political rights. These are not my views, but they are the views of other hon. Members with whom we wish to act, and for whose opinions we have respect." He urged supporters of a wide extension of the suffrage "to abstain from this extreme and dangerous step." Oh, these Liberals, these Liberals: they always believe in complete freedom, but they are always ready with a reason why it should not be granted till to-morrow—which never comes!

GOVERNMENT WHIPS AGAINST EQUALITY.

Sir George Cave stated that the Government would resist the amendment to enfranchise women at 21, and that if it were carried they would abandon the measure altogether. Oh, Prime Minister Lloyd George, who "torpedoed" the Conciliation Bill because it did not give Adult Suffrage, what a curious decision for you and your Government to come to! Of course, the amendment was defeated by 291 votes to 25.

Mr. Rawlinson then moved to give a residential franchise instead of an owners' and tenants' franchise, but this proposal also was opposed by the Home Secretary, and it was negatived.

Sir George Younger moved to attach a sum of £10 per annum to the women owners' and tenants' qualification, which would exclude women occupying premises of a lower value. Sir George Cave promised to consider whether the Government could accept this restrictive clause. He always wears a more welcoming aspect towards the restrictive than to the expansive clause! Mr. Peto moved to remove the right of a married woman to vote in virtue of her husband being an owner or tenant. This amendment was negatived. Lord Hugh Cecil, who had sneered at other suffragists for not being bold enough to enfranchise women on the same terms as men, now said: "We cannot tell how these people will vote. . . . Would it not, therefore, be wiser to limit the step in the first case to those who are to have the municipal vote?" But later he said, in reply to the protests of other Members, that he would like to see the amendment negatived. Is it right that such an erratic fellow should sit in Parliament?

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT VOTE. DISFRANCHISEMENT OF WIVES.

Mr. C. Roberts moved to leave out the words which prevent a husband and wife from qualifying for the Local Government vote on the same property. He pointed out that whilst it is estimated (we think the estimate extravagant) that the Bill will enfranchise 6,000,000 women for Parliamentary purposes, it only gives 1,000,000 the Local Government vote. Mr. Adamson, Mr. Hemmerde, and Mr. Arnold Ward, the anti-suffragist, strongly supported this amendment. (Mrs. Humphrey Ward considers that women should take part in local politics, her representative therefore toes the line.) He urged that wives should be qualified in respect of their husbands' property, and husbands for the property of their wives. He had at one time introduced a Bill with this intention. But Sir George Cave said that he could not promise to accept the amendment. This was "not in the main a Bill to bring into shape the Local Government franchise," but a Representation of the People Bill. He forgot that the Bill actually disfranchises some Local Government electors and introduces plural voting in towns where it did not exist. He added that the Conference had agreed that the Local Government vote should go with the payment of rates. Mr. Dickinson said that he was glad the Home Secretary had not entirely closed the door on the amendment, but it "would not be at all right" to accept it offhand. Mr. Acland said that married women had as much concern in paying the rates as their husbands. Mr. Hemmerde said that he supported the suffrage clause with reluctance, because it was a bad clause; it was not creditable to the country which is claiming to set an example to the world to make only this limited experiment in women's suffrage. It would be a monstrous thing to block the extension of the municipal franchise to married women. It was deplorable and unwise to leave out the women from 21 to 30 years. "All the youth and enthusiasm that you get from these young women will be badly needed in the reconstruction that is coming after this War."

Clause 4, which includes all the women's franchises, was carried by 214 votes to 17.

On June 25th Clause 5, safeguarding the votes of soldiers, sailors, and persons doing naval and military work, or serving in the Red Cross, was discussed. An amendment to give votes to soldiers and sailors at eighteen years was moved and supported by many military men. Mr. Hayes Fisher, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, agreed on the Government's behalf to consider the enfranchisement, for the next general election only, of boys of eighteen who have served abroad in this War. Sir John Simon, who assumes a proprietary position towards the Bill, agreed to the proposal, but many others protested against it.

Sir George Cave moved an amendment, which was carried, providing that the provisions of Clause 5 should apply to "any war in which His Majesty is engaged," not merely to this War. This seems to forecast more wars in the near future.

THE SOLDIER'S WIFE'S VOTE.

Major Hunt, Mr. C. Roberts, Lord Robert Cecil, and even Sir Frederick Banbury pointed out that unless a soldier's Local Government qualification is preserved to him, as well as his Parliamentary franchise qualification, many a soldier's wife will lose her vote. Sir George Cave gave a grudging agreement to consider the matter.

FROM OVERSEAS

Dear Editor,—I have received so many letters, asking me if I have sent you on behalf of this Union, congratulations on the victory of the 19th inst., that I may not delay longer in carrying out the request, though some of us, resident in Britain, know what the visitors from overseas apparently do not: that the victory is by no means satisfactory and by no means complete. But all the same, the moral gain is great, and I feel justified in sending you, on behalf of all the societies affiliated to this Union, congratulations on the success of the cause for which your society has striven so nobly and so unweariedly, and to express the hope that Adult Suffrage as we have it in Australia and New Zealand, may shortly be gained in the Motherland also.—Yours in our common cause, HARRIET C. NEWCOMB, Hon. Sec. British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union.

THE
WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People on the basis of a Socialist Commonwealth

Entrance Fee ... ... 1d.

Minimum Subscription... 1d. a month

I wish to become a Member of the W.S.F. and enclose.....subscription and entrance fee for.....months.

***Name*.....**

***Address*.....**

WHAT'S ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, JUNE 29th.
Hoxton Street, 7 p.m., Mrs. Boyce, Miss Beamish.
SATURDAY, JUNE 30th.
Ford Road, Bow, 3 p.m., Mrs. Boyce, Rev. Cheetham.
Lesbia Road, Hackney, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Club Row (Bethnal Green), 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
SUNDAY, JULY 1st.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
The Grove, Stratford (Joint Meeting with N.-C.F.), 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Stepney (Peace Negotiations Committee Meeting), 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Victoira Park, 4 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Miss S. Pankhurst.
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Leigh Rothwell.
TUESDAY, JULY 3rd.
Gernon Road, Bow, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
WEDNESDAY, JULY 4th.
Clock Tower, Burdett Road, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
THURSDAY, JULY 5th.
Cannon Street Road, Commercial Road, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
FRIDAY, JULY 6th.
"Salmon and Ball," 7 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Cressall.
Highbury Corner 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
SATURDAY, JULY 7th.
Ford Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Hoxton Street, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker, Miss Beamish.

INDOOR

BOW WOMEN'S HALL.—Wednesday next, 8 p.m. Singing Class. Branch Meeting, Monday, July 2nd, 8 p.m.—Agenda: (1) Delegates' Report on W.S.F. Conference; (2) General Business.

PUBLIC MEETING, 400 OLD FORD ROAD.

Thursday, July 12th, 8 p.m., Public Meeting on Adult Suffrage and Proportional Representation. Speakers: Miss Margaret Hodge (of Australia), Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Walker, and Mr. J. H. Humphreys (P.R.). Chair: Mrs. Bouvier. A model Election will be held. Admission free.

49 CREDITON ROAD, TIDAL BASIN.—Wednesday next, 8 p.m., Branch Meeting.

ST. STEPHEN'S SHOP, 85 Hoxton Street (a few minutes' walk from Shoreditch Church or from Old Street Station). Thursday, July 5th, 8.15 p.m., Mr. Ph. Frankford, "War and Socialism."

53 ST. LEONARD'S STREET, BROMLEY.—Monday next, 2 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.

ISLINGTON, 255 Liverpool Road.—Branch Meeting, June 29th, 8 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. Boyce.

GRAND CONCERT at "WONDERLAND," WHITECHAPEL ROAD, E., in aid of the newly-formed "East End Workers' Choir," to-morrow (Sunday), July 1st, 7.30 p.m. The Russian Folk Song Amateur Choir, organised and conducted by Madame Maria Levinskaya, will sing Russian Folk Songs. Russian National Dances will also be performed. Solos, Madame Slava Krassavina (contralto); piano solos, Madame Maria Levinskaya; violin solos, Sasha Lasserson. Tickets, 2s. 8d. (reserved), 1s. 2d., and 7d. (including war tax), can be obtained from 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3; Mr. J. Woolf, "Wonderland," Whitechapel Road, E.1; The International Suffrage Shop, 5 Duke Street, Strand, W.C., and at the door. Join the Workers' Choir. Class every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at 400 Old Ford Road, E.3.

GRAVEL PIT HALL, Valette Street, Mare Street, Hackney.—Tuesday next, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Davies. Chair: Miss Lynch.

LEICESTER

Leicester W.S.F. has arranged to hold a discussion on, "Is the Present Franchise Bill an Injustice to Men?" The meeting will be held at the Trade Hall, Earl Street, on Monday, July 2nd, at 8 p.m. Alderman Banton will lead the discussion, after which the audience are invited to take part. Admission free. Collection.

KENSAL RISE.

Will all those members and sympathisers who wish to join the Kensal Rise Branch please write to Mrs. Edwards, 30 Clifford Gardens, Kensal Rise, N.W.10?

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

KINGSLEY HALL, BOW.—To-morrow (Sunday), 8.15 p.m., Dr. Hodgkin will speak on "What is the Kingdom of God?" Discussion, 9.30.

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Edgar Lansbury, or to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—Walter Coates, Esq., £15 15s.; Miss A. Gliksten, £5; St. Pancras Branch, per Miss Collins, £1 4s.; Mrs. R. Dalby, £1; Miss Gliksten (monthly), £1; Irene, per Mrs. Drake, £1; Mrs. Wheaton, 5s.; Mr. J. R. Jones, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. A. B. Clarke, 2s.; Mrs. Sleep, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Boyce, 6s. 2d.; Mrs. Bouvier, 5s. 6½d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—G. Bernard Shaw, Esq. (Indicators), £3; Mrs. Crosland Taylor (Indicator), £1 10s.; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (Indicator), £1 10s.; Poplar Branch (Sale of scented cards, Indicator), £1 10s.; Miss Eagle, 1s.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Misses Gulland (monthly), £1 17s. 6d.; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 12s.; Mrs. Henry, 10s.; Mr. and Mrs. Whitwell, 5s. COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool Room, £1 12s. 5d.; Miss Lazarnick, 18s.; Misses E. Lagsding and L. Barker (Green's Yard), 12s.; Misses K. Lagsding and T. Barker (Cubitt Town), 7s.

WOOLIES.—Mrs. Stead.

CLOTHES.—Anon.

MOTHERS AND BABIES

The Mothers' Arms, 438 Old Ford Road, Bow.

Day nursery from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Mondays, 2.30 p.m. Mothers and babies can consult Nurse at any time.

Health Talks for Mothers are held the first and third Fridays in the month at 3 p.m., at the Mothers' Arms.

WANTED.—A cupboard for the Nursery..

20 Railway Street, Poplar.
(opposite South Bromley Station).

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Mondays and Thursdays, 2.30 p.m. Nurse may be seen at any time.

53 St. Leonard's Street, Bromley-by-Bow.

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Fridays, 10.30 a.m.

All mothers and children are welcome.

Cost Price Restaurants at 400 Old Ford Road, and 20 Railway Street. Dinners from 12 till 2 p.m. daily.

WANTS.

We make an earnest appeal to all friends who are able to assist us to meet the expenditure necessary for a successful Baby Week.

Funds are urgently needed for milk, Glaxo, and medicines.

Please make cheques payable to the Hon. Treasurer.

FOREIGN NEWS

The "Berner Tagwacht" estimates the War losses for the past three years as follows:—War loans, 350 milliards; killed and wounded, 24,000,000 men; decline of birth-rates, 9,000,000.

* * * *

THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION.

It is reported that Count Tisza did his utmost to remain in power, and tried to persuade the King of the necessity for a strong Government in order to prevent the revolution. But all political parties united on the 7th June under the leadership of Count Karolyi, declared for universal, equal, and secret suffrage, peace without annexations or indemnities, and safeguards for future peace by international agreement, and the democratisation of the army and of diplomacy. It is said that the dawn of the Hungarian revolution has begun.

* * * *

AUSTRIA.

In the Vienna Parliament, the Socialist deputy Serk asked the Government to declare in favour of peace without annexations and indemnities. The Czech deputy Smeral stated that the Czech Socialists demand the transformation of Austria-Hungary into a federation of independent nations.

* * * *

According to the "Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant" great tumults have occurred in Essen and other German towns.

* * * *

The Commission entrusted with the organisation of the Russian Constituent Assembly declared by 27 votes against 9 for proportional representation.

PALESTINE

Translation from "Stockholms Dagblad," June 2nd, 1917:—

"The following telegram has been received from the Chief Rabbi in Palestine by the Rabbi in Stockholm, Dr. Ehrenpreis, dated from Jerusalem, 29th May:—

"'In consequence of the false reports circulated by the Havas Agency concerning Jewish persecutions in Palestine, I wish to make the following statement:—It is not true that the evacuation of Jaffa and Gaza has been made for the purpose of expelling the Jews, or that only Jews have had to leave. The truth is that among the 30,000 inhabitants of Gaza who have had to leave the town for the sake of their own personal safety, there were only twenty to thirty Jews; and among the 40,000 who had to leave Jaffa for the same reason, 7,000 Jews. These, however, have all been able to settle down in other towns and villages in Palestine; and, in fact, scarcely any of them have left the country. The Jewish colonies, even those in the closest neighbourhood of Gaza and Jaffa, have remained undisturbed. This shows that there is no question of any Government order against the Jews or any intention to expel them from Palestine. All those leaving the evacuated towns have received such opportunities of conveyance as could be obtained, and, in addition, those in need have been given money. There is no truth whatsoever in the statement that any plundering of Jewish property has taken place. On the contrary, all property that has been left has been placed under special protection. Further, it is a deliberate falsehood to say that 7,000 Jews have been made to leave Jerusalem. With the exception of a number of enemy subjects that included Jews and non-Jews alike, only a few families since the beginning of the war have for administrative reasons been made to leave. Nor is there any truth in the reports of mass-executions of Jews. With the exception of three soldiers who had committed serious crimes, no Jew has been condemned to death since the outbreak of the war.'

"The telegram is signed by N. Danon, Chacham-baschi."

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND

LEAGUE OF RIGHTS CONFERENCE

On Saturday, June 16th, an adjourned conference to establish the League of Rights for Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives and Relatives was held in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street. It was then agreed:

1. That the name of the organisation be "The National League of Rights," and the objects to protect the interests of soldiers and sailors, both discharged and in the Services, and their wives, widows and dependents: to secure for them adequate separation allowances and pensions, to act on their behalf in all cases of neglect and delay, and generally to obtain an improvement in their conditions.

2. That the following constitution and rules be adopted:—

(a) There shall be a Central Council formed of delegates from affiliated organisations, and that Council shall elect an Executive for one year.

(b) The Executive Committee shall consist of 15 members, Chairman, Treasurer and Secretary, who shall also be elected by the Council.

(c) It shall be the business of the Executive to organise Branches and Federations of Branches throughout the country, and by every means in its power to carry out the objects of the League.

(d) Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Local Labour Parties, Women's Organisations, and all Labour and Socialist Organisations and their Branches may affiliate to the Central Council.

(e) Affiliation Fee for Branches or Organisations: 6d. per 100 members or part thereof, with a minimum of 2s. and a maximum of 10s. per annum. Affiliation Fee for Trades Councils, National Organisations, District Councils of Trade Unions, Local Labour Parties: Minimum 5s., maximum 10s. Representation on a basis of one delegate for every 2s. 6d. paid, with a maximum of four delegates.

(f) Organisations in a district should form a District Committee. Where such District Committees are formed, the affiliation fee shall be paid to that Committee, and half of same be sent by the District Committee to the Central Council. (A "District" means, for example, a London Borough or Provincial Town, Urban or Rural District.)

(g) Members belonging to no organisation shall be formed into National League of Rights Branches. The members' subscription shall be fixed by the Branch itself, but 6d. per year per member shall be remitted to the Central Office, or to the District Committee where formed.

(h) Where no Branch is formed, individual members shall pay a minimum annual subscription of 1s. to the Central Office.

(i) District Committees and Local Branches of the National League of Rights shall elect their own officers, arrange their meetings and methods of business, and keep the Central Office advised monthly of their work, progress, needs and desires. They shall in the first instance deal with all complaints and claims, and failing to obtain satisfaction, notify the General Secretary.

Mr. George Lansbury was elected Chaiman, Mr. J. Banks Hon. Treasurer, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, 400 Old Ford Road, E., Hon. Sec. Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., addressed the Conference.

A MODEL ELECTION

Proportional Representation is to give to all citizens fair representation in their Parliament. It proposes to give electors freedom in the choice of their representative. Come and see how it works. A model election meeting will be held at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, July 12th, 8 p.m., where you will hear the system explained and be able to vote by it for a number of candidates.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

SOUTHEND: Apartments or Bed-Sitting Room, near bandstand, pier.—C., 1 Grange Gardens, Southend.

SOUTHEND: Furnished Apartments, 8 minutes from sea and train; a Furnished House conveniently situated.—Apply "400" this Office.

WOMAN, experienced in sick visiting and care of children, Seeks Work; whole or part-time job.—Apply "Kathleen," this office.

FREE WORLD: Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self! Recitals by Alexander Hunter.

BOURNEMOUTH.—BED and SITTING-ROOM; near sea and trams.—Aldeby, Southville Road, Bournemouth.

TO LET, charming little up-to-date HOUSE in Devon; quite in the country; near the rivers Clyst and Exe.—Full particulars from "Clyst," this office.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85, Hoxton Street, N.

Charge for advertising in this column, 1d. per word; four insertions for the price of three.

ELECTRIC MACHINE BAKERY
91 BURDETT ROAD, MILE END
W. WOODS & SONS, *Family Bakers*

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